

Sarah M. Grimké

FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

NEW-HAMPSHIRE

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED AT

A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, HELD AT CONCORD,

June 4, 1835.

CONCORD:

ELBRIDGE G. CHASE, PRINTER.

1835.

OFFICERS.

President.

REV. DAVID ROOT, of Dover.

Vice-Presidents.

Gen. D. HOIT, Sandwich,	N. P. ROGERS, Esq., Plymouth.
Rev. C. CUTLER, Windham,	Mr. A. CAMPBELL, Acworth,
Rev. J. M. WHITON, Antrim,	Rev. E. E. CUMMINGS, Concord.

Executive Committee.

Rev. N. BOUTON, Concord,	Rev. D. STOWELL, Goffstown,
Rev. J. M. PUTNAM, Dunbarton,	Mr. B. DAMON, Concord,
A. CADY, Esq., Concord,	Rev. J. CURTIS, Pittsfield,
Rev. G. STORRS, Concord,	Rev. A. T. FOSS, Hopkinton.

Corresponding Secretary.

JOHN FARMER, Esq., Concord.

Recording Secretary.

Rev. EDMUND WORTH, Concord.

Treasurer.

GEORGE KENT, Esq., Concord.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

CONCORD, Thursday, June 4th, 1835.

The Annual Meeting of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery-Society commenced at 8 o'clock at the Town Hall. Rev. JONATHAN CURTIS of Pittsfield, President of the Society, took the chair and after a few appropriate remarks, addressed the Throne of Grace in Prayer.

On motion it was

Voted, That a Committee be appointed to examine the credentials of Delegates and present the Constitution for signatures and take the names of Honorary Members. Rev. Messrs. Perkins, Putnam and Stowell were appointed said Committee.

Voted, That Rev. Messrs. CUMMINGS, ROOT, and Gen. HOIT be a Committee to report a list of Officers for the ensuing year.

Mr. JOS. HORACE KIMBALL was chosen Assistant Secretary.

On motion,

Voted, That an invitation be extended to Gentlemen, Members of Anti-Slavery Societies from abroad to take a seat in this meeting.

The following are the names of Delegates as reported by the Committee.

AMHERST.	CONCORD.	
Rev. Samuel Prescott.	Rev. George Storrs,	Rev. E. E. Cummings,
BARNSTEAD.	George Kent, Esq.,	Rev. Edmund Worth,
J. C. Prescott.	Rev. M. G. Thomas,	Dea. Joseph French,
BOSCAWEN.	Charles Hoag,	Doct. T. Chadbourne,
Abraham Robertson.	Amos Wood,	Maj. Timo. Chandler,
CAMPTON.	Joseph H. Kimball,	Elbridge G. Chase,
Davis Baker, Esq.,	Thos. W. Thorndike,	David D. Fisk,
Benjamin Noyes.	Dea. John B. Chandler,	Hazen Walker.
CANAAN.	Albe Cady, Esq.,	DERRY.
Thomas Paul,	Albert G. Chadwick,	Rev. Philo Brownson.
W. P. Carrier,	Elbridge G. Eastman,	DOVER.
William Scales.	Nathaniel Abbot,	Rev. David Root,
CHICHESTER.	Benjamin Damon,	Rev. Jared Perkins,
Rev. Wm. S. Lock,	John Farmer, Esq.,	Hosea Sawyer, Esq.,
Rev. R. A. Putnam.	Rev. Nath. Bouton,	Asa Freeman, Esq.,
		Stephen Willey,

William H. Alden,	James Davidson,	NEWMARKET.
Oliver Wyatt,	Gideon Flanders,	Rev. Wm. H. Hatch.
H. A. Foot.	D. A. Buntin,	PITTSFIELD.
DUNBARTON.	Luther Sargent,	Rev. Jonathan Curtis,
Rev. John M. Putnam,	John Aiken.	Winthrop Fifield,
Rev. W. Harris, D. D.,	GREAT FALLS.	Jonathan P. Libbey,
Doct. Isaac Stearns,	Dr. John M'Crillis.	Jeremiah Blake.
Dea. David Alexander,	Doct. O. W. Austin.	PORTSMOUTH.
John Mills, Esq.,	HENNIKER.	Rev. David Marks.
Jonathan Ireland, Esq.,	Rev. Geo. Putnam,	PLYMOUTH.
Dea. D. H. Parker,	Rev. E. T. Winter,	Jona. Cummings Esq.,
Capt. Benj. Whipple,	Isaac Harriman.	Rev. S. Chamberlain,
John Buntin,	Joshua Colby, Esq.,	Doct. Samuel Rogers,
William Whipple.	Daniel Hussey,	Nath. P. Rogers, Esq.,
DURHAM.	John Page.	Joseph R. Carr, Esq.,
J. A. Richardson, Esq.,		Capt. F. W. Robie,
FRANKLIN.	HOPKINTON.	Hon. Moore Russell.
William P. Stone.	Rev. A. T. Foss.	SALISBURY.
Doct. Jesse Merrill.		Rev. Samuel Everett.
GOFFSTOWN.	LOUDON.	SANDWICH.
Rev. David Stowell,	Wm. Chamberlain,	Hon. Daniel Hoit,
Nathaniel Kimball,	Doct. James B. Abbott,	Gen. J. D. Quimby.
Jonathan Aiken, Esq.,	P. Robinson, Esq.,	SANBORNTON.
John Gilchrist, jr.,	Samuel Chamberlain,	Rev. C. R. Harding.
James Flanders,	Tenney K. Gage,	WINDHAM.
Dea. John Stevens,	Joseph Morrison.	Jeremiah Morrison.

Delegates from abroad.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Delegate from the Mass. A. S. Society.
 Rev. A. A. PHELPS, Delegate from the American A. S. Society.
 H. B. STANTON, Delegate from the Ohio A. S. Society.
 Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR, Del. from Salem, Ms., and vicinity, A. S. S.
 C. T. TORREY, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.
 Rev. JAMES T. WOODBURY, Acton, Mass.

Letters were received from several gentlemen, apologizing for their absence.

The First Annual Report was then read, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, by N. P. ROGERS, Esq.

Rev. Mr. Root moved that the Report be accepted and published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

The motion was seconded by Rev. Mr. MAY, who made some spirited and able remarks.

Leave was unanimously granted to Rev. Mr. SULLIVAN, who was not a member of the meeting, to express his views in opposition to the sentiments advanced. A discussion was then carried on by Messrs. SULLIVAN, MAY, and PHELPS.

Voted, To accept and print the Report.

On motion of Rev. Mr. PHELPS,

Voted, That this meeting adjourn to meet at 3 o'clock, P. M. at Rev. Mr. Bouton's meeting house.

AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment.

Rev. JAMES T. WOODBURY, of Acton, Ms. offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation is the only righteous and efficient principle of action in the cause of abolition.

Mr. WOODBURY supported the Resolution in a very eloquent and ingenious manner. Remarks were made by Messrs. MAY, STANTON and GROSVENOR and the Resolution was adopted.

Voted, To adjourn to meet at the Town Hall at half past seven, evening. Prayer by Rev. Mr. MAY.

EVENING.—Society met according to adjournment.

Prayer by Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR.

Rev. Mr. CUMMINGS, as Chairman of the Committee appointed to nominate Officers of the Society, presented his report, which was accepted.

Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That the recent arrest of three citizens of Massachusetts, belonging to the crew of the Schooner Butler, of Fall River, Mass., and their committal to prison at Wilmington, N. C., upon the charge of secreting on board a negro boy, claimed as the property of Capt. S. Potter of that place, with the intention of bringing him off, is an act of alarming character and ought to excite the most serious inquiry among the people of the Free States.

After some able remarks, the resolution was adopted unanimously.

A subscription was then taken up amounting to \$526.

On motion,

Voted, That a prayer meeting be held the next morning at half past five.

Voted, To adjourn to meet at half past 8 at the Town Hall.

FRIDAY MORNING, June 5.

Met according to adjournment. The meeting was opened by prayer by Rev. Mr. STORRS. On motion,

The proceedings of the previous day were then read.

Rev. Mr. MAY offered the following resolution.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all, who would efficiently aid the speedy emancipation of our enslaved brethren, to give preference in all cases to the products of free labor.

The resolution was seconded by ASA FREEMAN, Esq., and after a long and interesting discussion, in which Messrs. Freeman, Hoit, Storrs, Clement (a colonizationist,) Grosvenor, and Phelps took part, was passed unanimously.

Rev. Mr. PHELPS presented the following resolution.

Resolved, That this Society regards a strict and practical adherence to the maxims "*fiat justitia ruat cælum*," "*and duty is ours and consequences are God's*," as the only true morality—the only morality that accords with the

dictates of right reason or the teachings of the bible—the only morality that will stand the test of the judgment day, and secure, here or hereafter, the approbation and blessing of Almighty God ; and believe that such morality so far from being “a reckless disregard” of consequences, is, in the highest sense, a solemn regard *for* consequences, inasmuch as it is simply and only a regard for consequences on a large scale—that of all time, all place, and all being as measured by Omniscience—in opposition to a regard for consequences on the small scale of man’s short-sighted, limited and erring vision ; and hence it is, that while this Society holds as sacred the doctrine “*To Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s,*” it holds equally sacred the doctrine “*To God the things that are God’s,*” and does therefore declare, as their opinion, that all laws which contravene the law of God are not morally binding, but are, “before God, utterly null and void,” *as a rule of duty* ; and this Society, therefore, holds it as God’s truth, that the slaveholder is sacredly bound, law or no law to the contrary, immediately to emancipate his slaves, and is, therefore, guilty, every moment he refuses to do so, of obeying man rather than God.

A very animated debate ensued in which Messrs. Phelps, Storrs, May and R. R. Gurley took part. It continued until nearly two o’clock, when, On motion, it was

Voted, To adjourn to meet at the same place at 3 o’clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment.

Prayer by Mr. H. B. STANTON.

The Resolution offered by Mr. Phelps was laid on the table in order to take up other business.

N. P. ROGERS, Esq., offered the following resolution which was seconded by MR. GROSVENOR, and passed unanimously.

Resolved, That this Society earnestly recommend to all its auxiliaries, to circulate, as soon as practicable, in their respective vicinities, petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and forward the same to Congress, at the opening of the next session of that body.

Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR moved the following Resolution, which was seconded by Gen. HOIT and passed unanimously.

Resolved, That this Society earnestly requests its auxiliaries and friends throughout the State to hold meetings on or about the 4th of July for the delivery of addresses and the collection of funds in aid of the cause of Immediate Emancipation.

Rev. Mr. PHELPS then called up the Resolution presented by him in the morning, and it was supported by Rev. Mr. MAY in some eloquent remarks. He was followed by Rev. Messrs. STORRS and GURLEY. The discussion continued till half past six, when the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rev. Mr. FOSS offered the following resolution which passed unanimously.

Resolved, That this meeting invite the attention of the ministers and churches of this State to the day of fasting and prayer for the abolition of Slavery, about to be observed in some other parts of New-England, on the 25th instant.

Adjourned to 8 o’clock.

EVENING.—Met according to adjournment. Prayer by the President.

Voted, That the minutes of this meeting be published with the Report.

Rev. Mr. GURLEY rose and spoke about twenty minutes endeavoring to prove that Christianity sanctioned Slavery. He was followed by Mr. STANTON in an able review of the colonization scheme and the principles of Immediate Emancipation. Mr. PHELPS followed with his usual ability, and finally gave way to Mr. GURLEY, who made a long speech in defence of his views and in condemnation of the doctrine of Anti-Slavery.

N. P. ROGERS, Esq. offered the following resolution, which was seconded by Rev. Mr. GROSVENOR, and passed.

Resolved, That the '*Herald of Freedom*' and the '*Liberator*' deserve the efficient patronage of the friends of Emancipation.

Rev. Mr. STOWELL offered the following resolution which was seconded and passed unanimously.

Resolved, That this Society, considering the success that has attended the efforts of the friends of Immediate Emancipation, feel under obligations to express their gratitude in devout thanksgiving to God for his favor and blessing.

Voted, To dissolve.



Ben John Hawkins
the first
dec. Aug. 13, 13

REPORT.

AFRICAN SLAVERY was introduced into Europe, about half a century before the discovery of America by Columbus. The Portuguese are said to have been the first who engaged in this traffic. The other nations of Europe gradually followed the example, and a system was established by which the chiefs of the African tribes doomed their prisoners of war and their convicts to everlasting servitude, and exchanged them for the luxuries of European commerce.

In 1501, Slavery was first introduced into America by Spanish slaveholders, who emigrated with their negroes. In 1503, it was authorized by a royal edict of Spain. King Ferdinand himself sent from Seville fifty slaves to labor in the mines. In 1511, the direct traffic in slaves between Africa and Hispaniola was enjoined by a royal ordinance. As the West India Islands advanced in prosperity, the demand for slaves increased. Speculators and adventurers from every part of Europe carried to the coast of Africa the alluring articles of their respective manufactures. Thus tempted on all sides, the African tyrants resolved to use every practicable method of obtaining slaves. War was excited for the purpose of taking prisoners. The innocent were charged with crimes which they never committed. The helpless were seized by violence, and the inhabitants of their own villages were sometimes carried off in a body to supply the means of the inhuman barter.

The first Englishman who engaged in the Slave Trade was a man called Sir John Hawkins. In 1563, he transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola.* In 1567, another expedition was prepared, and Queen Elizabeth, although she had expressed some compunctions in the traffic, protected and shared in the profits. Hawkins, in one of his expeditions, set fire to an African city, and out of 8000 inhabitants succeeded in seizing only 250. In a third piratical voyage, this inhuman monster and all his gang perished.

The first enslaved Africans were brought to this country by the Dutch in 1620. They were twenty in number, and were landed and disposed of at Jamestown, the first settlement in Virginia. They were afterwards introduced into the Southern colonies in great numbers, in some of which, laws were passed to encourage their importation.

* Holmes's Amer. Annals, i. 84. Hakluyt, i. 521, 522.

It would be gratifying indeed, were we able to show that our beloved New England, in its earliest days, had never tolerated the holding of human beings in slavery; but we fear there is too much evidence to prove that the practice was sanctioned by our puritan fathers. It is some small satisfaction to know, that unlike those who carried on the slave trade, they made a wide distinction between those who were stolen or seized by violence by the Slavers, and those who were taken in lawful war, or were reduced to servitude for their crimes by a judicial sentence. An express law was made prohibiting the buying and selling of the former, while the latter were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the laws of Moses. We shall give in this Report a remarkable instance of justice in the execution of this law, when two negroes, who had been fraudulently brought from the coast of Guinea to this country, were, by the special interposition of the general court of Massachusetts, taken from their masters and sent home to their native land.

The time when negro slaves were first introduced into New England has been generally referred to the year 1645; but we shall show it to have been a number of years earlier, if not coeval with the settlement of Boston by Gov. Winthrop and others, in 1630. The first of whom any notice is given in any early printed work relating to New England, were owned by Samuel Maverick, who came to this country in 1628, or 1629, and settled on Noddle's Island, in Boston harbor. Here, he was found by the emigrants who came over with Gov. Winthrop. Johnson, who was one of the company, describes him in his *History of New England*, printed in 1654, as "a man very ready to entertain strangers;" and Josselyn, in his *Account of two voyages to New England*, after visiting him on the 10 July, 1638, represents him as "the only hospitable man in all the country, giving entertainment to all comers, gratis." In a subsequent visit, the same year, he gives the following account, which shows that slavery existed in New England as early as that period.

"The 2d of October, [1638] about 9 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Maverick's negro woman came to my chamber window, and in her own country language and tune, sang very loud and shrill: going out to her, she used a great deal of respect towards me, and willingly would have expressed her grief in English; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment, whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to entreat him in her behalf, for that I understood before that she had been a Queen in her own country, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her by another negro, who was her maid. Mr. Maverick was desirous of having a breed of negroes, and therefore seeing she would not yield by persuasions to company with a negro young man he had in his house, he commanded him, will'd she, nill'd she, to go to bed to her, which was no sooner done than she kicked him out again: this she took in high disdain beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief."*

* Josselyn's *Voyages to N. E.* 28.

Such is the degrading and melancholy picture of slavery in the early annals of New England. Thus early were attempts made to violate the chastity of female slaves. Well might the captive Queen bewail her lot in the touching strains of her own native country. But Maverick, unlike many slave-holders of the present day, did not seduce his female slaves himself. He was no friend to amalgamation. He wished to preserve his negroes free from any admixture of the blood of the whites. A different policy prevails now, and it is a well established fact that "American citizens, who boast loudly of their own freedom and of that of their *posterity*, sell their own children into slavery; and others traffic in the bodies of their half brothers."*

In July, 1637, Capt. William Peirce, of the brig *Desire*, belonging to Salem, was commissioned to transport fifteen boys and two women of the captive Pequot Indians, a formidable tribe, which had been nearly exterminated in war a few months before, to Bermuda, and sell them as slaves. He returned on the 26 February, 1638, with "a cargo of cotton, tobacco, salt and *Negroes*."† The Indian slaves had probably been exchanged for African slaves. It is possible that some belonging to this cargo were purchased by Maverick; but as he had built a fort on Noddle's Island, and erected a house and other buildings, and cultivated land before Gov. Winthrop and company arrived, it is not improbable that he brought slaves with him when he first came over; and if so, the era of Negro Slavery in New England must be fixed at about 1629.

In 1639, the next year after Peirce brought the negroes to this country, we find an African in possession of Nathaniel Eaton, the first master of Harvard College, who it appears was, in some respects, better qualified for an overseer of a slave plantation, than the head of a learned institution.‡

In 1644, James Smith, a shipmaster, and a member of the church in Boston, and Thomas Keyser, his mate, sailed for Guinea, where, on their arrival, they met with one or more slave ships, engaged in the same traffic with themselves. In concert with the Londoners, who pretended they had formerly been injured by the natives, they invited some of the negroes on board one of the ships on the Sabbath, and having got them in their hands kept them as prisoners. They then landed men, and a piece of ordnance, called a murderer,§ with which they assaulted one of the towns, and killed many of the people, but "the country coming down," the assailants were forced to retire, without any booty several of their men being wounded with the negroes' arrows, and one of their number killed.||

With those who had been decoyed on board the ship, Smith sailed for the Madeiras, where he purchased wine, and then sailed for Barbadoes to dispose of it. From Barbadoes, where Smith from some cause or other, was left, the ship under the charge of Keyser returned

* Rev. C. P. Grosvenor's Address at Salem, 1834, p. 34. † Winthrop's Hist. N. E. i. 234, 254. ‡ See Winthrop's Hist. N. E. i 309, 310.

§ A *murderer* it doubtless proved, as about 100 negroes were killed.

|| Winthrop's Hist. N. E. i. 243.

to Boston, bringing two of the negroes, who had been decoyed from the coast of Guinea in the manner just related. One of these was brought into New Hampshire, being purchased by Francis Williams, of Portsmouth, who had been governor of one of the plantations.—Smith soon returned to Boston, and on the petition of Richard Saltonstall, Esquire, one of the assistants of Massachusetts, whose oath and conscience would not allow him to overlook such a flagrant violation of human rights, both Smith and Keyser, “for their injurious dealings with the negroes in Guinea,” were ordered “to be laid hold on and committed to give answer in convenient time.” Governor Winthrop in speaking of this transaction, says, the magistrates ordered the two negroes to be set at liberty and to be sent home; “but for the slaughter committed they were in great doubt what to do in it, seeing it was in another country, and the Londoners pretended a just revenge. So they called the elders and desired their advice.* What punishment was inflicted on Smith and Keyser, if any, we know not.

As to the negro who had been brought into New Hampshire, the general court wrote to Mr. Williams in May, 1645, informing him that the negroes brought here by Smith, “were fraudulently and injuriously” taken, and requiring him forthwith to send the one in his possession to Boston, that he might be sent home, and stating that the court had resolved to send him back without delay.†

We are the more particular in giving the circumstances of the origin of New England Slavery, as we believe they have never been fully and correctly represented by modern historians. We give them too to show, how abhorrent to the feelings of our puritan fathers was the crime of man-stealing; to show that though it was sanctioned by the usages, if not by the laws of their native country, and of the Christian nations of Europe, it was by them condemned and reprobated. We much regret that they did not condemn slavery *in toto*; that they did not discover that to hold men in servitude, even when made prisoners in lawful war, was totally inconsistent with the principles of Christianity. This discovery was reserved to a more enlightened and benevolent age. Our fathers were by no means free from errors, but in their estimate of human rights they were in advance of the age in which they lived.

In November, 1646, the general court of Massachusetts passed a law against *man-stealing*, making it a capital crime. They also ordered that the two Africans forcibly brought into the Colony should be sent home at the public expense.‡ The other Colonies soon passed a similar law to that of Massachusetts. The Connecticut code, prepared in 1650, has the following section. “If any man stealeth a man or mankinde he shall bee put to death.” The New Haven code, printed in London 1656, contains a similar article, “If any person steale a man or mankind, that person shall surely be put to death.” The Plymouth laws probably made man-stealing a capital offence.

*Winthrop's Hist. N. E. i. 245.

†Mass. Colony Records. Belknap's Hist. N. H. (Edit. of 1831.) i 40, 41

‡Felt's Annals of Salem.

Of the southern colonies, we have seen none of the early statutes relating to the subject, and we can recollect only one solitary instance in that quarter of a man stolen from his native country being sent back, and he was *redeemed* from slavery. This was Job Ben Solomon, or Pholey, son of the high priest of Bundo, in the interior parts of Africa. Travelling across the country with his herds of cattle, in the year 1731, he was seized and sold into slavery. He was brought to America and purchased by a Maryland planter. About a year after, he found means to convey a letter to England written by himself, in Arabic. The letter fell into the hands of the benevolent Oglethorpe. It was translated at Oxford, and such was the esteem which it procured for the writer, that he was redeemed and sent to England. Here he tarried upwards of a year, exhibiting great mildness of temper and strength of intellect, and received much notice and liberal presents from many of the nobility and the royal family. Having at length an opportunity to return to his native country, he embraced it with great eagerness; but alas! his father was no more; his wife had married another; his whole country had been ravaged by war, though before abounding with herds of cattle, he had not even a cow left. The feeling man was deeply penetrated at his father's death and the misfortunes of his country, but his wife he forgave, saying, "she could not help thinking I was dead, for I was gone to a land whence no Pholey ever returned."^{*}

Numerous insulated facts respecting slavery in New England from the close of the seventeenth century down to the American revolution could be given. We have room for only a few of the most prominent, and those of a public nature. Of the introduction of slavery into the southern colonies we would remark, that in some of them it was encouraged by legislative acts, and especially in Maryland, where as early as 1671, an act was passed for "encouraging the importation of negroes and slaves."[†] In South Carolina, after it had been allowed for seventy years, the legislature, to their lasting disgrace, passed an act, "That whoever shall teach, or cause any slave or slaves to be taught to write, or shall use and employ any slave as a scribe in any manner of writing whatsoever, shall, for every such offence, forfeit the sum of £100."[‡]

In 1700, Chief-justice Sewall of Massachusetts, a most excellent and humane man, having for some time deeply felt for the condition of the enslaved negroes, published a tract entitled "The Selling of Joseph," in which he advocated their rights.[§] As this was the first work published in New England, pleading in behalf of the Africans, we had hoped to obtain a copy of it to make some extracts from it; but it is feared that it may have become extinct. We have however been favoured through the kindness of a beloved and honored descendant of Judge Sewall with the following extract of a letter written by the author and relating to his work. It is dated on the 19 June, 1700. He says, "Having been long and much dissatisfied with the trade of fetching Negroes from Guinea, at last I had a strong inclination to write something

^{*}Francis Moore. [†]Holmes's Annals, i. 358. Chalmers' Annals, 6. i. 362.

[‡]Holmes's Annals, ii. 16. [§]Allen's Amer. Biog. Dict. Art. SEWALL.

about it; but it wore off. At last reading Bayne Ephes. about servants, who mentions Blackamores, I began to be uneasy that I had so long neglected doing any thing. When I was thus thinking, in came Bro. Belknap to shew me a Petition he intended to present the General Court for the freeing a Negro and his wife, who were unjustly held in bondage. And there is a motion by a Boston Committee to get a law that all importers of Negroes shall pay 40s. per head to discourage the bringing of them. And Mr. C. Mather resolves to publish a sheet to exhort masters to labor their conversion—which makes me hope that I was called of God to write this apology for them.”

That Judge Sewall held the true doctrine respecting human rights, and was an Abolitionist in the present sense of the term, may appear by the following extracts from his Letter Book, and sent to Judge Addington Davenport. “The poorest Boys and Girls within this Province, such as are of the lowest condition, whether they be English, or Indians, or Ethiopians; they have the same right to relevation and life, that the richest heirs have. And they who go about to deprive them of their right, attempt the bombarding of HEAVEN; and the shells they throw will fall down on their own heads.” These sentiments were sent to Judge Davenport just before his going to sit on the trial of Samuel Smith, of Sandwich, for killing his negro.

Judge Sewall, like the Abolitionists of the present day, was attacked for advancing such sentiments. John Saffin a judge of the same court with Sewall, and a slaveholder, and one who had attempted to bring into bondage again one of his slaves who had been set free, printed an answer to “The Selling of Joseph,” to which Judge Sewall alludes in a letter to Rev. John Higginson of Salem, then in his 90th year, and one of the most venerated ministers in New England. The letter is dated 13th April, 1703. “Amidst the frowns and hard words I have met with for this undertaking, it is no small refreshment to me, that I have the learned, reverend and aged Mr. Higginson for my abettor. By the interposition of this breast-work, I hope to carry on and manage this enterprise with safety and success.” In a letter to Henry Newman at London, afterwards agent for the province of New Hampshire, which accompanied a copy of “The Selling of Joseph,” he desires him to do something “towards taking away this wicked practice of Slavery,” and expressing the opinion that there would “be no progress in *gospellizing* until slavery was abolished.*

Time has shown how well founded was the opinion of Judge Sewall. One complete century and more than the fifth of another have passed away since his letter to Mr. Newman was written, and what has been done towards “gospellizing” the natives of Africa and their descendants? How many millions of Africans during that time have gone down to perdition in the chains of slavery forged by those who called themselves Christians! When will the church awake to her true interest? when will those who minister at her altars cease to find “Scripture Arguments” for upholding and continuing the greatest curse that ever afflicted the world?†

*Sewall's Ms. Letter. †See Counter Appeal of Pres. Fisk and others.

The effect of Judge Sewall's efforts in Boston, where he resided, will appear from the fact that the next year after he published the tract alluded to, the inhabitants of that town desired their representatives in the general court "to promote the encouraging the bringing of white servants, and to put a period to negroes being slaves."* There was doubtless some check to the importation of negroes to New England, about this time, as may be inferred from their slow increase in Massachusetts; but no effectual restraints were imposed upon slavery.

In 1703, an act was passed the general court of Massachusetts,† premising that "As Mulatto and Negro slaves, who had been freed, were often obliged to be maintained by the towns where they lived, they should not be considered as manumitted, unless their masters gave security to pay whatever charges might accrue respecting them."

In 1705, the same court by an act or resolve forbid the intermarriage of the whites with colored persons.‡

In 1709, the Boston News-Letter, published by John Campbell, postmaster in Boston, contained advertisements of negro men, boys and girls to be sold, 'Inquire at the Post Office.' It was common for negroes to be thus advertised down to the time of the revolution.

In 1728, the duty on negroes in Massachusetts was £4. a head. As this duty was often evaded, the masters of vessels, bringing them, were required to enter them on oath to the town clerk where they arrived, and to pay the duty. If any negro died within a year after he was imported, the duty on him was to be returned.||

In 1731, the town of Portsmouth, in this State, voted, "that if any free Negro or Indian come into the town, those that entertain them shall support them, if they come to want; and every person that shall marry a Negro or Indian, so coming in, to any Negro or Indian of theirs, the master or mistress, consenting to such a marriage, shall support said persons, so as to free the town from any charge."¶

In 1737, Benjamin Lay, the benevolent Quaker of Pennsylvania, wrote a treatise, entitled, "All Slave keepers, that keep the innocent in bondage, Apostates." It was printed by Dr. Franklin, who told the author, when the manuscript was brought to him, that it was deficient in arrangement. "It is no matter," said Mr. Lay, "print any part thou pleasest, first." Mr. Lay had resided in Barbadoes, where he openly testified against the conduct of the owners of slaves. On his arrival at Philadelphia, he found many Quakers who kept slaves. He remonstrated against the practice both in public and private. Calling on a friend in that city, he was asked to sit down to breakfast. He first inquired, "Dost thou keep slaves in thy house?" On being answered in the affirmative, he said, "Then I will not partake with thee in the fruits of thy unrighteousness." After an ineffectual attempt to convince a farmer and his

*Boston Town Records. †Felt's Annals, 338, 339. ‡Felt's Annals of Salem, 340. §Bowen's Picture of Boston, 265. ||Felt's Annals, 387. ¶Burrough's Address at the opening of the New Alms House in Portsmouth, 24.

wife in Chester county, of the iniquity of keeping slaves, he seized their only child, a little girl of three years of age, under the pretence of carrying her away; and when the cries of the child and his singular expedient alarmed them, he said, "You see and feel now a little of the distress which you occasion by the unhuman practice of slave keeping." His bold, determined, and uniform reprehension of the practice of slavery, in defiance of public opinion, does him the highest honor.*

He was followed in his benevolent labors by Anthony Benezet, another Friend, belonging to Philadelphia, who, in 1767, published "A Caution to Great Britain and her Colonies, in a short representation of the calamitous state of the enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions." This seems to have produced some effect in the Colonies, and especially in Pennsylvania, which, in 1780, passed an act abolishing slavery. Six years after the publication of Benezet's work, we find the town of Salem, Massachusetts, voting that their Representatives in the General Court use their utmost endeavors to prevent the importation of negro slaves.

In 1775, the number of slaves in the United States had increased to 500,000. Virginia alone contained more than one-fifth of the whole number. Maryland, as early as 1755, contained 42,764 negroes, and 3592 mulattoes. New England, when the war commenced, numbered about 17,000 colored persons. The white population at the same time exceeded 600,000.

At the commencement of our existence as a nation, the Congress of the United States did a noble act—an act worthy of the great principles for which they were contending. They declared in the face of the whole world—"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that ALL men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that amongst these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In this general and unqualified Declaration of Congress on the 4th of July, 1776, all the people of the thirteen original States, *without distinction of color*, were proclaimed FREE, by the delegates in Congress, and this act of theirs was acknowledged and sanctioned by each of the States in their individual capacity.

In the same year this Declaration was made, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, published a "Dialogue concerning the Slavery of the Africans, shewing it to be the duty and interest of the American States to emancipate all the American Slaves." This work was dedicated to the Continental Congress, who had previously advised the American Colonies to drop the Slave Trade entirely, and not to buy another slave that should be imported from Africa. The first edition was printed at Norwich. A second edition was issued from the press at New York, under the patronage of the New York Manumission Society. This work even now may be regarded as one of the most thorough, able, clear and conclusive discussions of the subject which has appeared.

The principles of the Declaration soon began to be adopted by

several of the States, and here we will mention the time when abolition of slavery took place in the several New England States. In Vermont, slavery was abolished by their first Constitution, adopted in Convention, 2 July, 1777, at Windsor. After the revolution, some attempts were made to transport out of the State negroes and mulattoes, and sell them in open violation of the laws; but the General Assembly, in 1786, passed an act to prevent such sale and transportation, prefaced by the following preamble:—"Whereas by the Constitution of this State, all the subjects of this commonwealth, of whatever color, are equally entitled to the inestimable blessings of freedom, unless they have forfeited the same by the commission of some crime; and the idea of slavery is expressly and totally exploded from our free government." The act provided that if any person convicted of making sale of any subject of that State, or of conveying or attempting to convey any subject out of the State to hold or sell such person as a slave, he should forfeit and pay to the persons injured the sum of £100, and cost of suit, to be recovered by action of debt, complaint or information.* In Massachusetts, as in Vermont, slavery was abolished by the Constitution, which was adopted in 1780, the first article of which declares, *ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL*. It had been generally and practically abolished years before the adoption of the Constitution. In New Hampshire, the Constitution was adopted in 1783. The first article of the Bill of Rights declares "All men are born equally free and independent," and the second, that "All men have certain natural, essential and inherent rights; among which are, the enjoying and defending life and liberty; acquiring and protecting property; and in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness." The colored people never abounded in this State. One hundred years since, there were but about 250. In 1775, they were reckoned at 659; and according to the first census, they amounted to but 788. In Rhode Island, slavery was abolished by act of the legislature in 1784, and its abolition in Connecticut was effected in a similar manner.

After the close of the war of the revolution, public opinion was again turned towards the unhappy condition of the negro. A few of the patriots who perilled their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors in defence of the unalienable rights of man, possessed too much of the expansive spirit of true philanthropy to constrain the blessings of freedom within the limit of any particular class. They were too honest and sincere, too regardful of the precepts of universal love, calmly to permit the land for the liberties of which they had poured out their blood like water, to be polluted by the footsteps of the slave. These were consistent patriots, they were true lovers of human kind. They were willing and anxious to impart to others the rights and privileges which they themselves enjoyed. They had proclaimed abroad, solemnly and unitedly, the doctrine of the natural equality of man, and they were not so soon to shrink from its partial application. They endeavored to carry it out, to embrace in it all men, whatsoever might be their form or complexion. They consid-

* Slade's Vermont State Papers.

ered the declaration penned by Thomas Jefferson, not merely a 'rhetorical flourish,'* but self-evident, incontrovertible truth. When the storm of war, which they rode upon and directed, had passed away; when they once more had ceased to fight for their own homes, and in defence of the sanctity of their own firesides: they began, as the kind feelings of their nature again took the place of the stern, desperate spirit which had long animated them, to sympathize with the oppressed, degraded negro in their midst. As they had endured wrongs, they naturally felt an interest in the fate of their brethren, who were enduring a bondage even more sore and galling than the one they had just thrown off.

The Friends, in the person of ANTHONY BENEZET, were the first to engage actively in the work of redeeming the colored population of our country from the ruin and degradation into which they had been crushed by untoward circumstances. He had, as we have already mentioned, published a work upon the the horrible condition of the slaves and the cruelties of the slave-trade. In 1781, he resign-

*It is often asserted that the South deems slavery unjust, and is desirous of getting rid of it. In the extracts which we give below, from two leading *religious* papers, we have no doubtful intimation of their real sentiments. They "do not contemplate it with hatred and horror." They deny the injustice of slavery, not only under present circumstances, but in the abstract. They are not anxious to be clear of it. Then to hear them call the noblest doctrine ever uttered by man, "a rhetorical flourish!" To hear them boldly attacking the very foundation of our government! They complain that abolitionists have attacked the constitution: why *they* are madly taking away the living principles on which that constitution is founded. But to the extracts.

The Editor of the Charleston Southern Baptist, repels with indignation the idea that any Southerners would favor the northern views. He says, "We trust and we believe, that our nothern brethren are deceived in this matter. We rather think they have taken the sentiments of northerners, who are only transiently among us, for the sentiments of the southern people. But we would say to them, brethren, be not deceived. In this matter we do not agree with you. 'Tis possible, yea, probable, here and there might be found an isolated case of an individual who repudiates the system of slavery, but we are satisfied there is by no means a prevalent feeling of this character. We *do not* contemplate slavery "with hatred and horror," and our southern people *do* "deny in the abstract the injustice of slavery." We think that we can prove that slavery is not necessarily founded on injustice."

The Southern Christian Herald, a Presbyterian paper, published at Columbia, S. C. goes more into the detail. The editor is quite surprised that "our northern brethren seem to be under the impression that slavery is *admitted by the religious community at the south to be a sin*, but one which it is not yet prudent to oppose." And he proceeds to "expose some of the wild and extravagant notions which many seem to entertain respecting liberty.

"The substance of these are contained in that 'rhetorical flourish,' of Mr. Jefferson, in which he says, "we hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal: that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Upon this proposition, false as it is, rests the wild theories of liberty, held by so many. And we are told that men are not only born equal, but free. The very reverse of this is true."

ed the charge of the free school which he had long and acceptably superintended, and devoted himself entirely to the instruction of the blacks: In 1783, he addressed a letter to the Queen of England, pleading eloquently but ineffectually, for her interference in abolishing the slave-trade. Nor were the inconsistencies of our government in permitting slavery, suffered to pass without remonstrances and expostulations. In 1783, a pamphlet was published in London, entitled a "Serious Address to the Rulers of America, on the inconsistency of their Conduct respecting Slavery." This was a bitter, but deserved reproach; and the more bitter as coming from those against whom they rebelled as tyrants.

In 1782, Mr. Jefferson published his notes on Virginia, in which we find the following sentiments: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this and learn to imitate it. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to the worst of passions, and thus cursed, educated, and exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. With what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies; destroys the morals of the one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other.****And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed the only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gifts of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, *nature* and natural means only, a revolution in the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference. The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."*

* The same sentiments Jefferson retained in his old age; as will be seen by the following extract of a letter, dated Monticello, August 25, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of July 31, was duly received and read with pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole do honor to both the head and heart, of the writer. Mine on the subject of the slavery of negroes have long since been in the possession of the public, and *time has only served to give them stronger root*. Yet THE HOUR OF EMANCIPATION is advancing, in the march of time. IT WILL COME; and whether brought on by the generous energy of our own minds, or by the bloody process of St. Domingo, excited and conducted by the power of our present enemy, if once stationed permanently within our country, and offering an asylum and arms to the oppressed, is a leaf of our history not yet turned over.

I am sensible of the partialities with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle on the armor of Hector, "*tremantibus æve humeris et inutile ferrameingi*."—No, I have overlived

In the same year that Mr. Jefferson's work appeared, Virginia passed a Manumission Law, by which "any person, by his or her last will and testament, or by any other instrument in writing," with certain forms specified in the act, "might emancipate and set free his or her slaves, or any of them, who shall thereupon be entirely and fully discharged from any contract during servitude, and enjoy as full freedom as if they had been particularly named and freed by this act." There was a provision in the act that all slaves not of sound mind and body, those above the age of 45, or being males under the age of 21, or females under the age of 18, should not come under the benefits of this law. From the passage of this act to the year 1791, Judge Tucker supposes that upwards of 10,000 slaves were emancipated. Now, the spirit of freedom has so far become degenerate, that no slave can be liberated, without instantly leaving the State, under a severe penalty.

In 1785, the first abolition society ever formed in the United States, was organized in the city of New York. Hon. JOHN JAY, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court, was chosen its President. The object of the association, as stated in one of its publications, was to "promote the manumission of slaves, and to protect such of them as have been or may be liberated." In 1787, a similar society was organized in Philadelphia. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was its first President, and BENJAMIN RUSH its Secretary.* A society was also formed in Maryland two years subsequent to this, and its tendency was highly favorable both to the slave and the master. There were also societies in Virginia, Delaware, Connecticut, and we have been informed in other States. Addresses, too, on slavery were delivered in different parts of the country, containing sentiments, which, if uttered now, would be deemed rash, jacobinical and incendiary. In the library of Harvard College, may be found a work, entitled, "A Serious Expostulation with the Members of the House of Representatives of the United States concerning Slavery." This was printed in 1793. But our attention is particularly drawn to a Sermon delivered by JONATHAN EDWARDS, D. D., of New Haven, in 1791. This is a most masterly production. It anticipates and fully answers the objections which are thrown in the way of abolitionists of the present day. Its language is strong and nervous, and the train of reasoning logical and triumphant. The sentiments which he utters are characteristic of his grasping mind, and are honorable to his warm and benevolent heart. But correct as they are, they are now repudiated by men who honor and reverence the name of Edwards, and are denounced bitterly as fanatical, visionary, and disorganizing. But *tempora mutantur*, and with the change of times there has also been a woful change of principles and feelings. In

the generation with which mutual labors and perils begat mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the young; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have my prayers, and these are the only weapons of an old man.

* Thomas F. Buxton of England, in a letter dated 10 April, 1835, says he is in possession of the original document, signed Benjamin Franklin.

order to show the manner in which he takes up the subject, and his method of treating it, we propose to make a few extracts.

Modern abolitionists contend that slave holding is equally heinous with slave trading; that in fact, every slave-holder is a man-stealer. For this they have been hunted by men calling themselves Christians. They have been proscribed as madmen, as idle dreamers. Let us see what Jonathan Edwards said. On page 24, we find the following:

"What will be said against the slave trade, will generally be equally applicable to *slavery itself*, and if conclusive against the former, will be equally conclusive against the latter."

"No man has a better right to *retain* his negro in slavery, than he has to take him from his native African shore." p. 24.

"I presume it will not be denied that to commit theft or robbery every day of a man's life, is as great a sin as to commit fornication in one instance. But to steal a *man*, to rob him of his *liberty*, is a greater sin than to steal his property, or to take it by violence. And to *hold* a man in a state of slavery, who has a right to his liberty, is to be *every day* guilty of robbing him of his liberty, or of MAN-STEALING. The consequence is inevitable, that other things being the same, that to *hold* a negro *slave*, unless he has forfeited his liberty, is a *greater sin in the sight of God, than concubinage or fornication.*"

Now if the law which pronounces the slave-trade piracy be just, ought it not to denounce the same punishment against every man who holds a human being in bondage?

Hear what he says about slavery being the cause of vice.

"Slavery tends to *lewdness*, not only as it produces indolence, but as it affords *abundant* opportunity for that wickedness, without either the difficulty or the danger of an attack on the virtue of a woman of chastity, or the danger of a connexion with one of ill fame." p. 11.

For saying the same thing, Garrison, and those who think with him, have been accused of misrepresentation and slander. Numerous other passages might be quoted, but these are sufficient.

As evidence of the feeling manifested by a few individuals in *New Hampshire*, we shall here quote at some length from a Sermon written by MOSES FISKE, A. M., then Tutor at Dartmouth College, and afterwards a Judge in Tennessee. The title is an expressive one.

"TYRANNICAL LIBERTY-MEN. *A Discourse on Negro Slavery in the United States. Composed at ——— on the late Federal Thanksgiving Day,*" [19 Feb. 1795.]

On the title page we find the following motto: "And I beheld the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter, and on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter." [Ecclesiastes iv. 1.]

One of the topics recommended on this occasion, was the capture of several American citizens by the Algerines. Great commotion had been excited throughout the United States by such a bold and heinous outrage, and contributions were taken up for the purpose

of redeeming the unfortunate captives. Mr. Fike seized the opportunity to administer a sharp rebuke to his own countrymen for their inconsistency. He speaks pointedly and powerfully. We refer to his remarks, particularly at this time, to shew that the doctrines of the abolitionists are not *new* doctrines, but that they are such as were held years ago by some of the ablest and best men in the land. The language is not tame and cold, but warm with the eloquence of the heart. He commences his subject in the following energetic manner.

"Prepare your ears to hear a most extraordinary anathema pronounced against that infatuated people (the Algerines) by one of our first poets and eminent statesmen.

"Great maledictions of eternal wrath,
Which, like Heaven's vial'd vengeance, singe and scath,
Transfix with scorpion stings their callous heart,
Make bloodshot eyeballs from their sockets start;
For balm pour brimstone in their wounded soul,
Then ope perdition and ingulph the whole."

"In the name of honor, why this raving and execration? O, the Algerines have captured and enslaved five or six score of Americans, and keep them in abject servitude and distress! For this they are condemned to death and perdition; and I know not but Heaven suggested the verdict.

"But if this thing must be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? In these United States, not five or six score, but five or six hundred thousand persons are enslaved; not captured on the high seas, where no one goes unapprised of the danger; but dragged defenceless from their native fields; and frequently treated, as might easily be made to appear, in a manner barbarous as our people are treated at Algiers."

From the following extract it will be seen that the doctrine of *gradualism* was not unknown in the writer's day. It has operated precisely as he averred it would. Emancipation was 'begun moderately,' has 'proceeded leisurely,' and if suffered to proceed in the same manner, will undoubtedly 'end—never.' The objectors at that time were just as fearful of going too fast, as the objectors of the present day; and experience has placed before us the practical result of their prudent, gradual measures. Since 1795, the number of the slaves has increased from 750,000, to about 2,500,000!

"It is just," says our author in a strain of bitter irony, "it is just, no doubt, that the negroes should have remained free, but they are slaves, and therefore let them continue so. Let them, however, have this consolation, that we will leave off our injustice *gradually*. There *shall be* an abolition, but it shall begin moderately, proceed leisurely, and be completed sometime or—never. Thus the poor slave may comfort himself, that at some distant period, *when*, God only knows, he or his children, or his children's children may hope for deliverance."

Why are not all in favor of immediate emancipation? Mr. Fiske gives us very correct and satisfactory reasons, and they are as applicable at this day as they were when first spoken.

"Some are for setting them free immediately. They are not for continuing an abuse of the most cruel nature under any pretext whatever. And why are not all of this opinion? *It is because many are PREJUDICED, and many are INDOLENT, and very many are INTERESTED,* not to mention that most people pay but very little attention to the subject.

With a warmth of feeling worthy of the man, he abjures the idea of holding property in man. He is commenting upon a remark of James Madison.

"O! it is doubtless cruel to deprive a master of the slave for whom he paid forty guineas, and has had his labor for not more than forty years! But to whom did he pay the guineas? In the name of conscience, who had any right in the first place to sell negroes? If a shipload of Frenchmen were offered for sale, the enquiry would quickly be made. The principle would soon be established that man *could not be made the property of man.*"

Our author was forty years in advance of his age. It will be seen by the following extract, that he seized upon the true principle of action, equality of rights.

"Let who will startle or laugh, I stedfastly maintain THAT WE MUST BRING THEM TO AN EQUAL STANDING IN POINT OF PRIVILEGES WITH THE WHITES! They must enjoy all the rights belonging to human nature."

We have quoted the preceding extracts to show in some degree the spirit of the times. Such feelings were not insulated and solitary. They were not the feelings of one or two, but they were the feelings of numbers. They were not the sentiments of weak-headed, indiscriminating zealots, but they were even the sentiments of men whose mental powers and moral traits were honored by the nation. The history of those days shows the great interest which some felt in behalf of the slave. It shows too that this interest was constantly increasing. The slave trade was the great object of abhorrence, for that was mistakenly considered the sole parent and upholder of slavery itself. Many felt, and that deeply, that the constitution in sanctioning that accursed traffic, in providing for its continuance for a series of years, had set the seal of its approbation on unwarrantable crime. Their chief attention and efforts were therefore turned to effect its abolition. They thought that by doing this, they should destroy the whole evil. The excitement that existed in the country from 1794 to 1808, was far greater than is now felt, notwithstanding the efforts of abolitionists. But this excitement was quieted by the abolition of the foreign slave trade, at the latter named period.* People supposed

*The importation of Africans into the United States ceased by law on the 1 Jan. 1808. In England the slave trade had been abolished the preceding year. Long and arduous was the struggle to obtain this desirable object. "Many philanthropists raised their voice in favor of the unhappy Africans; many politicians attempted to remove the stain from their country, and many christians wept over the thought that such crimes could be tolerated in

they had done all they could do, all that was necessary to do. They supposed the great battle had been fought, the victory and boon of victory won. With the legal abolition of the *trade*, they supposed the death blow of slavery itself had been struck. This delusion, however, soon passed away. Reflecting men saw that one of the branches only had been lopped away, but that the tree itself with all its bitter fruits, flourished as of yore. The census of 1810 exhibited the fearful increase of the slaves, and it was at once perceived that a more direct and energetic remedy was demanded. From that period up to 1816, popular feeling became rapidly and extensively excited, and a strong and deep abhorrence of slavery was prevalent in many portions of the country. Public sympathy was touched. "Had public opinion and public feeling," says a gentleman of Maryland, "continued for five years as it was in 1794 and 1816, every slave would have been freed." In Dec. 1816, the American Colonization Society was organized at Washington. It was organized very opportunely for the slave holder. Public opinion had taken a direction which threatened to rescue the victim of avarice from him. It could not be utterly stayed, though it might be deceived and turned aside. This society, by falling in with the prejudices of the whites, and holding out promises of much good to Africa through the influence of colonies, smothered again the bursting volcano. It served as a kind of safety valve to let off the superabundant excitement which had else continued to gather, and would finally have carried forward the car of abolition to the goal of truth. But under the lulling influence of this syren, public opinion again slumbered, and the poor slave was again left to the lash and outrages of a tyrant master, and the tender mercies of expatriation.

In 1831, commenced a new era in Anti-Slavery reform. In January of that year, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, a name which should be dear to the negro, and to every friend of liberty and justice, established the *Liberator** at Boston. Without a subscriber to their paper, living upon bread and water, that they might have the means of prosecuting the object, he with his worthy partner and coadjutor sounded the trump of warning and alarm in the ears of the people, he has without faltering continued to denounce the giant enormities of slavery, and to point out plainly and urgently the duty which christians and patriots have to perform. To his untiring labors we must refer the wonderful change which has taken place in public feeling within the last four years. By the *Liberator* were sown in our State the first healthful seeds of abolitionism.

In 1832, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was formed at Boston, embracing at that time only twelve members, who were termed by way of reproach and contempt, 'ardent young men,'

a christian land. The miseries of the poor Africans were sung by the bards of England, were declaimed upon by their orators, and even discussed by their sages; but neither the song, nor the declamation, nor the argument for a long time mitigated their destiny." But at length, the efforts of Clarkson, Sharp and Wilberforce triumphed over every obstacle.

*In connexion with Mr. Isaac Knapp.

'incendiaries,' 'fanatics,' and 'hot-headed zealots.' In December, 1833, a convention of about sixty delegates from various parts of the country, met at Philadelphia, and formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, the second Annual meeting of which was held on the 12th of the last month. There are now six State Societies auxiliary to it: viz. the Massachusetts, organized in January, 1832, under the name of the New England Anti-Slavery Society; Vermont, formed in May, 1834; Maine, in October, 1834; New Hampshire, in November, 1834; Kentucky, 19 March, 1835; and Ohio, 27 April, 1835.

Of the rise and progress of Anti-Slavery in this State, there are few incidents to relate. This Society is yet in its infancy, and has hitherto made no systematic and united efforts. Whatever has been done, has been mostly done by *Town* societies and by the generous exertions of insulated individuals. The earliest movements were made, we believe, at Plymouth and Windham. As an instance to illustrate the rapid progress of abolition principles, it may be well to remark, that in May, 1833, there "was not a solitary emancipationist in the town of Plymouth." In the course of that year, discussion on Anti-Slavery and the distribution of publications relating to that subject, diffused much light, and before the close of the year, a Society was formed. It is now large and flourishing. Ninety members were added to it on one single occasion.

The first organized and efficient movement was made last June, in Concord. The debate then held between a few abolitionists and their opponents, did more to awaken the people than any single effort which has been made. The visit of our excellent brother, CHARLES STUART, who was present on that occasion, was made very opportunely. His address was well received and produced much good. After that, came on the discussion. Several very interesting and important questions were agitated, and the principles and influences of the Colonization and Anti-Slavery Societies were very ably developed. Although at first the debate was carried on with a kind and forbearing spirit, yet during the afternoon of the last day, the friends of Anti-Slavery met with much violent opposition and were even threatened with a mob. The truth however was proclaimed with boldness, and we have evidence of its successful progress in the formation of this Society, and the great accessions which have been made to our ranks during the past year. The Legislature was then in session, and many persons from different and distant parts of the State were present during the discussion, and when they left, carried with them to their homes, the doctrines which were then inculcated. Thus the seeds of abolitionism were scattered as on the four winds throughout New Hampshire.

The visit of the Rev. Drs. Reed and Matheson to this State last September deserves to be remembered among the records of Anti-Slavery movements. Their remarks at the meeting of the Association at Meredith, gave a strong impulse to the cause among the numerous ministers present, and tended greatly to arouse public feeling in various parts of New England.* With a kind, brotherly spirit,

* See Dr. Matheson's remarks in N. H. Observer of Sept. 1834:

they besought American Christians to take the subject of Slavery into serious consideration. They recounted the success which had crowned the efforts of British Christians and the great responsibilities which rested on their brethren here. Thus exhorted, a committee was appointed "to consider the expediency of calling a Deliberative Convention" in New Hampshire, for the especial purpose, as it was understood, to discuss the subject referred to them by the delegates from England. The Committee, after due consultation, reported that it was not practicable to call a Deliberative Convention that fall: but deemed it best to postpone it to some more convenient season. The friends of *immediate* emancipation, however, thought it not expedient to wait for their movements, but concluded to hold a convention in Concord as soon as proper notice could be given. The call was signed by sixteen clergymen of different denominations, and the convention was holden on the 11th and 12th November, 1834. There were present on the occasion several distinguished gentlemen from the neighboring States, and a very interesting and instructive discussion was had. A thorough investigation of several important principles and theories was entered into; such an investigation as leads to the truth and prepares the mind to receive its practical influences. As a result of the convention, a State Society was formed, and an address to the People of New Hampshire published.

In connection with the Convention may be mentioned the attack on the Ladies of Concord on the evening of the 14 November, while listening to an address from that eloquent philanthropist, GEORGE THOMPSON, from England, who had attended the Convention. They had invited him to deliver an address to them on his return from Plymouth, and while they were peaceably assembled in the Court Room, a mob broke in upon them, and endeavored by hissing, groaning, throwing missiles, and uttering vociferations, &c. to intimidate them and drive them from the house. Their efforts, however, were ineffectual. The Ladies stood firm, and despite their brutal insults, heard the lecture to its close.

Of the doings of this Society in its official capacity during the few months since it was formed, but little can be said. It has not officially acted to any considerable extent. The members, however, in their private character have labored efficiently. The thanks of all friends of the cause are particularly due to Rev. GEORGE STORRS, for his able and generous advocacy of the rights of the oppressed. Others might be named who have actively and perseveringly labored in the same glorious cause. It is hoped ten-fold more zeal and energy will be displayed hereafter, that an example may be set to our sister States worthy of their imitation.

The tour of Messrs. THOMPSON and PHELPS, made through several parts of the State in November and January last, have been abundantly blessed. It gave an impulse to the philanthropy and zeal of our own citizens, which we trust will prove effectual to the regeneration of the people of New Hampshire. Societies were organized in several of the towns which they visited, and an unwonted degree of interest excited wherever they lectured.

During the past year, the following Town Societies have been formed : Plymouth (female) ; Concord 2 (male and female) ; Great Falls ; Windham ; Dunbarton ; Dover 2 (male and female) ; Henniker ; Sanbornton ; Campton ; Weare ; Canaan ; Loudon ; Goffstown. Total, 15. The number of members belonging to these several Societies we have not been able to ascertain. They are all however known to be flourishing and efficient. Addresses have been delivered before all of them except the last two, and some efforts have been made by several in distributing books and papers. Fires have been lit up in various sections of the State, and we trust they will continue to spread light and life till the darkness which has for years hung over us, shall give place to the noon day of christian charity and holiness.

The Ladies of New Hampshire deserve to be remembered with expressions of high commendation. With the energy and firmness of Judith, when she stood in the tent of Holofernes, but with a mild and chastened temper which asks not for blood, but for justice and mercy, they have engaged in the warfare against passion and legalized villany,—against that sin which is desolating the homes of the South, and leaving misery and despair, deep and fearful, among the daughters of that beautiful land. The outrages and wrongs of their sisters in bonds have met with a noble response in their bosoms. A sympathy has been awakened there, which prompts to unceasing action. The ruthless sacrifice of the heart's purest affections, the unhallowed desecration of female rights and privileges, the wanton plundering of the mother and the wail of the stolen child, the moan of innocence violated, is rousing them to active measures of intercession. True to their own nature, true to the holy impulses of charity and love, they have taken a high stand in succor of the oppressed and degraded slave. Of the Society in Concord we can speak—for we are more acquainted with its doings—in terms of particular praise. Undismayed by mobs and unawed by the excitements of the enterprize, they have commenced the work of reform in the 'Granite State,' and unless the people who breathe its air, have feelings more rugged than their native hills, it will prove successful. They have procured addresses ; they have distributed widely books, pamphlets and papers, and by the labors of the needle are preparing to reach the heart through the medium of the eye. A portion of their monthly meetings is devoted to work ; the proceeds of which are to go to aid the general advancement of the cause. Their engagedness and perseverance are worthy of all imitation. We hope all throughout New Hampshire will be moved by their example, and by the facts which they have disseminated ; to rise up with the mighty influences of woman, in behalf of their oppressed sisters in bondage.

The newspaper press in this State is almost entirely silent. We regret much to see the indifference which prevails generally among our political editors in regard to that vital question—not only of moral but of political integrity. It would not seem that with such ardent expressions of patriotism and philanthropy on their lips, they would remain unmoved by the wrongs and woes inflicted by

the hand of law upon two millions of their countrymen. But so it is. Whether from motives of expediency or lack of reflection and information, the press is muzzled—is closed almost to any appeal in behalf of the abused negro. We are happy however to know there are some few exceptions. Still as a general thing, the people hear nothing of slavery,—are not told of the hard bondage, the innumerable outrages and oppressions which exist in the land, through the leading political prints. The religious periodicals, of which we have few, are more open to discussion, although they are too much trammelled with doubts and fears to act so efficiently as we would wish.

The pulpit has assumed a tone within the last year, which is truly encouraging. It has spoken with energy and directness, and exerted a powerful influence on public feeling. Never before has it uttered such earnest appeals in behalf of the oppressed. On the occasion of the last annual Fast, several clergymen preached discourses on Slavery, choosing for their text the appropriate words of Isaiah xl. 6. Such a course was unusual in by-gone days, and served greatly to arouse attention and lead the mind to inquiry and candid examination. There is still in many places a woful silence on this subject. Some are fearful; many are prejudiced, and very many unaware of the vast responsibilities which are upon them. The greater part have never inquired, and know not the demands for action and interference which exist. They have not remembered that the slaves are many of them *heathen*—men to whom the truths of the gospel have never been proclaimed, and who are utterly ignorant of the true God, the Saviour, and the realities of another existence.* They have not reflected that pagan worship is offered in our land—that Mahometanism is a living religion in the United States.† They have not reflected that the calls for missionary effort in the South, are as imperious and loud as those which come to us from the benighted regions of Africa. But it is hoped, as light increases, their hearts will be reached, and the whole brotherhood of Christ's consecrated servants rise up as one man in condemnation of the sin of slavery. The few clergymen who have lifted up their voice against the iniquity, have set a noble example. May that example hasten the glorious era of universal emancipation!‡

* The truth of this is acknowledged even by intelligent men of the slaveholding States. In the St. Louis Observer of the 7th of May, 1835, we find the following statement by the Editor of that paper: "Alas! in our own State, many Christians no more think of instructing their slaves in religion, than they do their horses. This may seem, and it is, a strong expression, but it just contains the simple truth and nothing more. *To our certain knowledge*, there are Presbyterian professors in this State, who just as little think of calling their slaves in to attend family worship, as any of the domestic animals about the house. The servant is sent to work in the field, or left to play in the kitchen, while the master remains to pray with the white folks before the family altar."

† Dickinson's Sermon.

‡ Since this Report was written, an Anti-Slavery Society has been formed among the ministers belonging to the N. E. Conference of Methodist

We highly rejoice in the assurance, that the church in her might is coming up to the rescue of the oppressed. She has long been guilty of tolerating in her midst, an abomination which the heathen would scarcely endure. She has sanctioned the unchristian distinction of *caste*, and suffered, with but feeble remonstrance, the worship of an unknown God to exist within the compass of her influence. The cries of those who have reaped down her fields, whose wages she has kept back by fraud, have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. *She has received into her treasury the price of blood.* But she is awakening and purifying herself of the iniquity. She is taking fast hold of the cause of immediate abolition, and a new hope springs in the breast of the afflicted, as he hears her advancing with the voice of the everlasting gospel.

The Synod of Illinois, at the meeting held in Springfield, in that State, in October of last year, after a full and free discussion of the question of slavery, *unanimously* adopted the following resolution:—

Resolved, That this Synod do most earnestly recommend to the churches under our care, the use of all proper means to effect the speedy emancipation of the slaves in the United States, and especially in the Presbyterian Church. *This Synod do consider the existing system of holding in involuntary slavery their fellow men, as a crime of no ordinary character, against which they do hereby most earnestly and solemnly testify.*

At a regular meeting of the Hancock (Me.) Ministerial Conference, held in Surry in May last, the subject of slavery was taken up. After discussion, the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

“1. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Conference, the system of slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a sin of inconceivable magnitude; and, that, supported as it is by law, for systematic cruelty and deep atrocity, *it has no parallel in the history of the world.*

“2. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Conference, the only proper and efficient remedy for this appalling evil, is IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

“3. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Conference, the American Anti-Slavery Society, based as it is on this correct and scriptural principle of immediate emancipation, is a noble and christian institution, and merits the patronage of an enlightened community.”*

Churches—and no less than 60 names had been subscribed, Friday the 19th of June.

* We cannot here omit noticing the different character of the vote of the Monadnock Association in our own State, which for a time closed the columns of the Observer against the discussion of abolition principles. The vote itself, which passed (*nemine contradicente*) in Nov. 1834, is sufficient for our purpose, without any remarks of our own. “It was voted that a committee be appointed to confer with the Editors of the N. H. Observer, and express to them the disapprobation of this Association of introducing into the paper a discussion of the *Colonization and Abolition principles*, believing that the religious influence of the paper will be much injured by party discussions of this character.” An intimation was also

An Anti-Slavery Conference of church members was formed in Boston last April. These, with several other movements of like character, show plainly the advance of abolition principles.

The friends of abolition often meet with several objections, the most specious and weighty of which it may perhaps be proper to notice. Cavillers have been found in all ages, and skeptics, honest perhaps, but short-sighted, have ever been ready to doubt concerning the goodness or feasibility of every cause. Prejudice and passion, and who is free from them? warp the judgment and pervert fearfully our inquiries after truth. Preconceived opinions and long habitudes of thought and feeling, are like walls of adamant around the citadel of error. It is not strange that we should find opponents in this cause, although it is emphatically the cause of truth and of God. It oftentimes comes in conflict with man's selfishness, and oftener with bitter and inveterate prejudices. It strikes at the corruptions of corrupt nature, and no wonder it meets with opposition. Some objectors are willing to know the truth and to embrace it, but have not yet had their doubts of expediency and propriety sufficiently removed to go forward with us in the great work of Negro emancipation. To them we shall endeavor to reply with candor and plainness, and with a simple desire for the triumph of the truth.

I. *We at the North have nothing to do with slavery.* This objection meets us at the outset. Our opponents are ever hurling this in our teeth, and gratulating over it as though it were insuperable. What have we to do with slavery? say they. We answer, much. It is the cause of humanity, and whatever concerns man concerns us. Our interests are the interests of the world. Man is not an insulated being, whose welfare is distinct from all around. He is connected by a thousand ties, which he cannot break, to the whole family of man. He has a duty to perform to others as well as to himself. His well-being is the well-being of his kind. Why did Howard leave the precincts of his own little neighborhood and go forth with his life in his hand on his pilgrimage of love? What carried him into the close huts of the poor, the heart-broken, the vicious? What lighted his path into the dark and dreary prison-house, and nerved him with more than human strength to penetrate the strong holds of corruption and crime, and urged him to minister to those whom society had given over to unpitied retribution? What went with him to degraded Ireland, to bigoted and oppressed Spain, to France with its palaces and Bastilles, to far Austria with its barons and serfs? It was the pure influence of universal philanthropy, which should stir the heart of every living being. It was the spirit of Him who went about doing good, whose mission on earth was a mission of mercy and good-will, whose blessings were bestowed on the Gentile as well as on the Jew, on the uncircumcised as well as on those who had sealed their faith and election

given, "that if the present course [the discussion of those principles] is pursued, MANY will speedily withdraw from the support of the paper!" *N. H. Observer*, 14 Nov. 1834.

with the bloody sign. Our charities are not to be hedged in by the conventional boundaries of the geographer. Latitude and longitude can no more become the landmarks of our benevolence and philanthropy, than the valleys where we first opened our eyes on the world can restrain within its borders the winds which bond and free may breathe. The world, the world has its demands upon our hearts.

But aside from the general ties which bind us to the weal and wo of our fellow men, we have particular duties to perform to ourselves and to our country. If the general claims of humanity are not sufficient to incite us to action and interference in behalf of the slave, there are specific reasons which may be given.

The District of Columbia is under the sole legislation of Congress. New Hampshire has as much power there, according to her representation, as any other State, and has as much right to interfere in its government as any slave State. This is the grand mart of the domestic slave-trade. Under the very wings of the Capitol, and with the flag of freedom waving above them, men possessing the inalienable right of liberty, are sold at auction, and for no crime, dragged to the burning and pestilential fields of the far South, there to toil unremittingly without reward and to die a premature death from over exertion. Licenses are given there to barter in the souls of men. Negroes are driven in there from the adjoining States as cattle are driven into the Brighton market. Prisons are erected, some of them at out expense, to secure to the master his *property*—his property in the image of God! Thousands are exported annually from that little spot. Houses are established there for the sole business of slave-trading.

The foreign slave-trade has been pronounced piracy. If a person traffics in negroes across the Atlantic, he forfeits his life. But there is now carried on between the northern and southern slave States, a trade not less unjust and cruel than that on which Congress has placed the penalty of death. The extent to which it is carried is probably little known to the people of New Hampshire. At a recent meeting of the Fayetteville, (N. C.) Colonization Society, Rev. Dr. Graham stated that there were nearly 7000 slaves offered in the New Orleans market last winter; from Virginia alone, 6000 are annually sent to the south, and from Virginia and North Carolina there had gone in the same direction in the last 20 years, 300,000 souls! A member of Congress states that 2,000,000 of dollars were brought into Virginia in one year, the proceeds of slaves carried principally to Louisiana.—The District of Columbia is the central point of this horrible traffic. The dealers collect their victims from various parts to this spot consecrated to liberty, and lodge them in some place of confinement till their lot is completed. They then turn them out like a drove of cattle, chained and shackled, exposed to the jests and tyranny of their fellow men, and driven about under the excitement of the lash.—Formed into large coffles, they set out on their dreary journey to the fatal sugar fields of the far South. A gentleman thus describes a cofle in Kentucky. "I discovered about 40 black men, all chained together in the following manner;—each of them was hand-cuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain, perhaps forty feet long,

was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the hand-cuffs. Behind these, I suppose, were *thirty women* in double rank—the couples tied hand to hand.— Sometimes however, indeed often, they are shipped on board regular packet boats and transported to the destined mart, in the close holds of the crowded SLAVER.” Rev. Mr. Leavitt, of New York, visited one of these floating prisons in the winter of 1834. It belonged to Franklin and Armfield of Alexandria, and is thus described: “Her name is the TRIBUNE. The captain very obligingly took us to all parts of the vessel. The hold is appropriated to the slaves, and is divided into two apartments. The after hold will carry about 80 women, and the other about 100 men. On either side were two platforms running the whole length; one raised a few inches and the other half way up the deck. They were about five or six feet deep. On these the slaves lie as close as they can stow away.”

The effect of this trade upon its victims is terrible. Families are indiscriminately broken up. Parents are selected and driven off without regard to their children; husband and wife are torn asunder according to the caprice or interest of the dealer; in short all the social relations utterly disregarded. As an instance of the practical operation of this system authorized by Congress and fortified by public sentiment, not only in the South, but at the North, we give the following:

“Visiting the prison,” says Mr. Minor, “and passing through the avenues that lead to the cells, I was struck with the appearance of a woman, having three or four children with her—one at the breast—She presented such an aspect of woe, that I could not help inquiring her story. It was simply this: she was a slave, but had married a man who was free. By him she had eight or nine children. Moved by natural affection, the father labored to support the children; but as they attained the age to be valuable in the MARKET, perhaps 10 or 12, the master sold them. One after another was taken away and sold to the slave dealers. She had now come to an age to be no longer profitable as a breeder, and her master had separated her from her husband, and all the associations of life, and sent her and her children to YOUR prison for sale.”*

But the evil does not end here. This trade is not confined to *acknowledged* slaves. Free persons of color are kidnapped and sold into irremediable and hopeless bondage. The toleration of this traffic is a bounty to the kidnapper. Negroes are enticed away on some errand, seized and hurried off to the South. As an illustration, we copy the following as related by Mr. Minor to the House of Representatives:

“A free colored man had married a slave—with the avails of his industry, he had, in the course of some years, purchased the freedom of his wife and children. He left home on business, and on his return, found his house tenantless. His wife and children were missing. It was soon ascertained that they had been kidnapped by slave dealers, and confined in a private prison in Alexandria; from whence

they had afterwards been sent to a distant market and were forever lost to the husband and the father."

The spirit of tyranny is breathing in every law relating to the colored people in this District. A negro going there is liable to be seized and incarcerated in the public jail. His color is presumptive proof of his being a slave,—presumptive proof, it would seem, of some heinous crime. No matter how honest or industrious; no matter though he has possessed the right of citizenship and voted for the highest officers of our republic; no matter though he has fought for the liberties of his country; he is liable to be arrested and imprisoned, and finally sold into slavery to defray the expense of his own unjust seizure.—Even though he prove his freedom, unless he will pay the fees and rewards of his arrest, he is liable to be sold into slavery for life.—These iniquitous proceedings are taking place in a District over which the free States have control. The Constitution gives to Congress, by express provision, the power to "exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever" over it. Congress not only has the power to abolish slavery here, but it *ALONE* possesses it. The States in their separate capacity cannot do it. Congress and Congress *alone*, has the right of legislation over it. If they cannot do any thing, no authority can. Here then we have power. Here we can act directly. The free States have a majority of the Representatives, and whenever they see proper to go forward, the District of Columbia will be free from tolerating a trade, alike abhorrent to the feelings of a republican and a christian.

And have we nothing, then, to do with slavery? In the name of religion and common humanity, we would ask if we are bound to witness such horrid oppression and iniquity as are now desolating the sunny fields of the South, without a word in reprobation? Have we nothing to do with slavery when the cries and groans of its victims are ascending up to Heaven on every breeze? Have we nothing to do with slavery when even the Union of the States is perilled by its continuance? Nothing to do with slavery which makes our Declaration of Independence a mockery and a hiss? Nothing to do with slavery when the whole land is full of blood guiltiness; when the wail of the crushed spirit; the agony of the violated and broken heart; the cries of manhood plundered and debased; the tears and supplications of woman in her wo are mingling with every breath of Heaven? Nothing to do with slavery, when we, freemen and christians, are taxed, aye, taxed to support the accursed system? when standing armies are kept up at our own expense to keep down the aspiring spirit of our fellow beings? Nothing to do with slavery when the District of Columbia is polluted with the shambles of human flesh and human souls; when the territories are fast filling up with the slave master and his slave; when the waters of this republic are ploughed by the keel of the *slaver*; and the whole land from Maryland to Missouri is cursed with the domestic slave trade? Nothing to do with slavery, when the *heathen* at our own doors, and around our own altars, are lifting the hand against us; when the great earthquake is shaking the nation, and the pillars of our government are trembling beneath the burden? (If any man can lay his hand upon

his heart, and continue quiet and inactive at this crisis, the judgment of the Lord be upon him, not ours.

Farther, let it be remembered that we are bound by our allegiance to the Constitution to give, not our private influence, but our open and armed support to this system. We are not permitted to take neutral ground and look passively on, while wrongs and woes are heaped and multiplied without measure upon our brethren; but we are compelled to strengthen the oppressor when his own hands have become too weak for his task of outrage. Let it be remembered, we repeat, that the Constitution binds us "to suppress insurrections," and that we are liable to be called upon at any moment to perform such a duty. At the North there is but little fear of it. The South, where slavery exists and is ever ready to burst forth in a whirlwind of ruin upon the land, there is no rest or security. Should the poor victim of injustice, instead of calmly submitting to his wrongs, be maddened to desperation, and turn at bay for revenge and blood, and peril his burdened life for freedom, we, *we* who breathe the free air of New England, are liable to be called upon to leave our peaceful firesides and homes to assist in their subjugation, to scourge down to a still more abject bondage the spirit striving for its natural birthright. The Greeks, and latterly the Poles, struggled nobly for emancipation, and all our sympathies were given to them without constraint. Money was even sent to them, and volunteers were ready to pour out their blood in their behalf. But should the black man rise up and assert his primal independence, we must, forsooth, without any hesitation or qualms of conscience, go at the point of the bayonet to repress his manly aspirations. And yet have we nothing to do with slavery? Is this state of things always to exist, and are we to make no efforts for *our* emancipation? Shall we be slaves eternally to such a system of outrage and oppression? Are we bound to keep the slave in subjection, and yet no right to attempt a peaceable removal of the evil? Are we to be forever chained to this Juggernaut, suiting our course according to the beck and bid of the proud, blood-thirsty image within it? Is it indeed treason to make an effort for the rescue? Are we so bound to the master that we have no right to interfere for the slave? Or are we to wait till the ruin is bursting upon us? Are we to feel the heavings of the volcano beneath our feet, and hear the roarings of the flames below, and see its warning flashes breaking up through the half uncapped crater, without an effort to extinguish and soothe down the pent fires? Are we to wait till the lava has broken forth and is scathing all around us, and pouring desolation, thrice told, on the blooming regions of the South? No, thank God! We have not thus read our privileges. We are not such craven spirits. We have a duty, and we dare do it too. The danger we foresee, we will not madly suffer to come upon us, the ruin which repentance and action can avert, shall not fall upon our heads.

Will any one, in view of this, say that we have nothing to do with slavery? If they will not be influenced by the claims of mercy and humanity, will they not be moved by interest? Although we grant

their assertion that we have now nothing to do with slavery, yet should the slave rise in insurrection we should have enough to do with it, and the master himself would doubtless think so. Have we not as much right to interfere now as then? Shall we not in time of peace anticipate and provide against war?

II. *But the North is opposed to slavery now*, says an objector. If that is the case, we have only to reply, let that opposition be combined and made to bear directly on the slave States. Let public sentiment speak out in tones of warning and remonstrance. Let there be but one voice heard among us, and let that roll over the whole South in one full peal of intercession and christian rebuke.

But we deny that the North is thus opposed to slavery. We deny it because we see strong evidence to the contrary. We see ministers of the gospel, the anointed servants of Him who preached deliverance to the captives, pressing the Bible into a defence of this accursed system. We see leading men at the North, men of acknowledged piety and influence, taking open sides with the oppressor, and apologizing boldly for his deeds of sin. We see the finger of scorn pointed at those who are laboring in behalf of the down-trodden slave. We see *mobs* breaking up the assemblies of those who had come together to pray and mutually inquire what was duty. We see the smile of scorn and contempt even on female lips when the negroes' rights are mentioned.

It is said every man in New England abhors slavery. We grant it in the same manner and in the same degree that a drunkard abhors intemperance—in the *abstract* and in *conversation*. The *practice* is quite a different affair. The drunkard abhors intemperance, and yet he will continue to drink and become intoxicated day after day and year after year, and finally goes down to the grave a miserable sot. The people of the North abhor slavery heartily in the *abstract*, but then they sanction it in the *concrete* as a very harmless thing. Hold up to them the skeleton of the system—slavery in the *abstract*—take away from it all that ever makes it desirable,—the gratification it offers to passion and avarice and pride—all the flesh and trappings which impart beauty to it, they shrink from it, as well they may do, in horror. But let it be decked in the purple of the prince or the harlot, let the golden bands and the rich pearls and the rustling silks of Eastern splendor be thrown around it; let a living and a breathing form be given it;—and they are ready and rejoiced to embrace it. They abhor slavery, but love most dearly to hold slaves! Whenever they go where slavery is tolerated, they very soon become masters, masters, too, of the most cruel and ferocious character.

'Slavery is a monstrous evil,' say some of our New Hampshire divines, 'but then we have a brother at the South whose whole property is vested in Slaves, in the souls of men: he would be utterly ruined were it abolished. We would not be thought to apologize for slavery, but then we think there are *certain* cases where it is justifiable. We pray you not to be so indiscriminating in your attacks upon slave-holders.' (That is, except our brother.) And they add in an under tone by way of commendation of our intentions,

'You would do much good were your efforts made South of the Potomac.'

'Slavery is a monstrous evil,' says a young graduate, as he turns his back with a lofty air upon the halls of Dartmouth, and seeks his fortune amid the beauty of the South; 'but then we in New Hampshire all abhor it. These abolitionists are surely fanatics or hypocrites to make such a stir here.' 'Slavery is a monstrous evil,' he exclaims as he utters the response which gives him not merely a nabob's daughter for his bride, but what cheers his heart still more, a nabob's plantation of slaves as a marriage portion. 'What a noise they make at the North about slavery,' he continues, after a few years of silence. 'The dough faces had better take care of their own business; they know nothing of our real situation. We are not accountable for our father's sins. We would be glad to get rid of slavery, but it has been *unfortunately entailed* upon us, and we must bear it.' 'What have we at the North to do with slavery,' say that renegade's parents, who are rejoicing in their son's good fortune in having married an heiress to some hundreds of slaves; 'it is a monstrous evil, we feel no disposition to doubt on the subject. We believe, however, there are *certain* circumstances under which it is excusable.' And thus while a child of theirs, educated under their own care and direction, is living riotously upon the fruits of the slave's unrequited toils, they decide without hesitation that the North is opposed to slavery!

'What hot-headed fellows these abolitionists are,' says the political demagogue; 'why don't they go to the South and preach; we are all opposed to slavery.' The next year he goes to Congress. A territory wishes to be admitted into the union with the power of holding slaves. With the votes of the slave-holders goes the vote of our northern member, in favor of its admission. Or perhaps a few 'fanatics' petition Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where it possesses the undoubted power and right so to do. With the votes of the slave-holders goes the vote of our northern member—against it. He is a slaveite.

The above are specimens of Northern opposition to slavery. Such feelings are, we fear, the prevailing feelings of New England. In words the North is opposed to slavery—in sentiment not. Here then is room for the efforts of abolitionists, and till the work of reform is completed among ourselves, until we cease to apologize for the slave-holder and cease to become slave-holders ourselves—until slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, we need not preach to the South.

III. But another objection meets us, the *old cry of disunion*. The interference of the North, it is said, will excite the jealousies of our southern brethren, will cause alienation of feeling, and eventually foment civil war. This certainly is a weighty reason, if well founded, and deserves the candid consideration of every abolitionist. Let us examine it. It will cause disunion. These United States stood shoulder to shoulder amid the strife of the Revolution, and against all the intrigues and power of foreign tyrants. The union was cemented in blood, and God commands that it be preserved.

But this agitation of the delicate question of slavery will tend to dissolve it. It will produce civil war. How so, we would ask? The abolitionists will never fight. They are men of peace, holding no league with that unhallowed spirit which would promulgate its principles by the sword. The means by which they propose to act are moral ones. They disclaim all legislative and physical interference. They do not wish to *force* the master to give up the slave. They do not go to him, and with their hands upon his throat, demand restitution of the rights of the oppressed. They would not arrogate to themselves the power of changing the unjust statutes, which now legalize robbery and wrong in the various States. This they leave to the slave-holder himself. They leave direct legislation where the Constitution has left it, to the individual States. What they propose to do, they can accomplish without such assumptions. Their weapons are moral ones. They are the sword of the spirit, the living truths of Jehovah. The abolitionists would smite the slave-holder with the invincible, immaculate principles of justice. They would go to him as to a brother. They would reason with him with plainness and sincerity, but in christian kindness and love. They would go to him with the Bible. They would place before him the command of the holy Jesus, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." They would point out the enormities of the system, the terrible evils it is inflicting on the slave, the inevitable ruin it is entailing upon themselves and their posterity. They would plead with him before God in behalf of the oppressed and degraded. They would carry their appeal home to his heart. They would awaken his conscience by the enlivening influences of the Gospel. They would convince him that slavery is a *sin*; that it is safe, practicable, and a duty to abolish it immediately. They would persuade him that it ought to be done. They would convince him of the duty of doing it, and leave it entirely to him to legislate for that purpose. Now what is there in all this that can lead to disunion and war? (What is there in all this that can cause alienation of feeling at the South, and lead to those fearful results which so many anticipate?) Will such an interference as this cause disunion and political turmoil? We cannot believe it.

But they threaten it. Their feelings are already excited, it is said, and they have proclaimed, with no doubtful voice, 'war, war to the hilt.' We are afraid of a *civil* war, have they no fears of a *servile* one? Are the slaves so oppressed, so degraded and brutalized, that no excitement, no opportunities will stir them to *one* full struggle for their liberty and life? Will they see the chains of a new and more unlimited dynasty clanking above their heads, nor make one effort to burst those already forged? And who will carry on the war? Not the slaves, for their masters will never venture to arm them. Not the free negro, whose lot is as abject as that of the slave. It must be carried on by the planter himself. And when he is away to the battle field, where will the long-oppressed slave be? Will he remain quietly at work on the plantation, will he labor as wont amid the pestilential air of the sugar-house and rice fields? The independent yeomanry will sow and plant in hope,

for they are to reap the fruits of their toils. But will the unrequited slave do the same? Will he continue to pour out his sweat and blood for those who have robbed him of all which makes life valuable? Will he do it voluntarily?

But what will the South gain by a disunion, even though it be done peaceably? Will they thus be beyond our influence? Will they thus get away from our fanaticism? Believe it not. The press will still be unmuzzled. Public sentiment will still be brought to bear upon them. Public opinion will still speak out and be heard echoing among their forests and within the streets of their cities. Northern remonstrance will still be uttered south of Mason and Dixon's line. Northern hearts will still act upon Southern hearts. There will still be a contention between justice and the iniquities of slavery. And it will continue till the land be purified, and the millions which are oppressed be suffered to go free. A mere withdrawal from the union is not a withdrawal from the influence of moral power. There is no spot on earth impregnable to the assaults of truth. Though it be as remote as the East and Sundered by bitter prejudices; though the flaming sword of passion turn every way to protect it, still the entrenchments will be scaled and truth prove triumphant over error. Just as surely as there is a God above who heareth the cries of the afflicted, so surely will the pleas for mercy and justice in the North be heard and answered by kindly action at the South.

Again, what will the South gain by disunion? The moment the line of separation is drawn between us, that moment are the slaves free. The master at once loses his hold upon the throat of his victim. The ægis of no constitution will be over them. The enactments of justice never upheld them. The shield which the law of the land had spread over him will be broken. If the slave escapes to the free States who will return him? The moment he crosses the landmark which divides the two portions, he is emancipated and loosed. He breathes the air of the North and he is free. *Now*, the master comes to us with his finger on an article of the Constitution and demands the return of his slave; then no such demand can be made. If he escapes to the free States, the free States will be an inviolable asylum for him, as much so as any foreign government which tolerates not slavery. Believe us, the South knows too well the risks of a civil war; it sees in the foreground a servile one. It knows too well the consequences, sure and inevitable, of a disunion: it will never venture them.

But allowing all these fearful anticipations to be valid, are we to cease in our efforts in behalf of the afflicted and the oppressed? Are we tamely to suffer them to groan and agonize because, forsooth, their masters threaten civil war and disunion? We will not fight. We give *them* no occasion to pursue such a course. We intrude upon none of their rights. We trespass upon no ground forbidden by the Constitution or the love of justice and morality. We meet them in the field of discussion and fair argument: if they cannot abide that, they must be weak indeed. Will they fight us because we ask them to do justice to the wronged? Will our brother

smite us because we beseech him, in the name of God and humanity, to cease from doing evil? Let him. We will do our duty, whatever may be the consequences.

If we are to be governed by the blind threats of our opponents; if we are to be turned aside from doing justice from a fear of its consequences, there is an end at once to all political and moral reform. Had the patriots of the Revolution been frightened from their career by the threats of George the Third and his ministers; had they compromised the principles of truth and justice with the commissioners who came over with plenary powers of pardon from his majesty; had they shrunk from the position they had assumed before the world, where would now have been the freedom of these United States? If Martin Luther had acted on such doctrines of expediency where would now be the blessings of the Reformation? Where would be our Bibles and the freedom of our own and our father's worship? How ludicrous would have appeared the arguments of the opposers of the abolitionists when applied to the exertions of the protestants? Suppose a friend of Luther had come to him with such reasoning as this: "We abhor the Roman Catholic doctrines as much as you do. We grant that they are depriving us of some of the dearest rights of human nature; that they are burdening the body and degrading the mind, and that they ought to be reformed. We are as much opposed to them, we are as much protestant, as you are. But then look at the consequences! Any action will bring ruin on the church. The Pope is jealous of every interference. He assumes the whole control of our conduct and consciences. He assumes to know what is best for his subjects. We certainly have a right to act in this matter, but then—then—we are so closely united now—so peaceable and happy! and discussion will only cause unhappy divisions in the Holy Church! True we are doing our duty, but the Pope threatens us with persecutions by fire and the sword. He will excommunicate us. He will brand us as heretics and outlaws, and we shall, peradventure, be hunted to a dreadful and premature death. We may be crushed on the rack of the inquisition, we may be burnt at the stake. These are fearful consequences brother Luther; let us keep still." What would have been the reply of that magnanimous man? would he have shrunk at all from the work of purifying the church which the passions of man had corrupted?—They who bring up the objection we have examined would bring up the same arguments against the cause of temperance. Let it alone, say they, let it alone, you are arraying family against family, neighborhood against neighborhood, town against town. It will not do. It excites dissension in the social circle, in the political world and in the church of God. But has it done this? In some few instances it certainly has. But what has been the ultimate *general* effect? Society is improved. Peace has placed its olive branch in many a divided turbulent family. Happiness and comfort have arisen on the ashes of want and woe. Health and virtue and contentment have blessed many a hearth stone and hamlet, and carried to the hearts of the wretched and desperate the hopes of religion and immortality. Such, too, will be the result of the abolitionists' toils. This nation is politically but not morally

united. The constitution binds it together, but there is little union of feeling and interest. The South are constantly arrayed against the North; The slave-holding States against the non-slave-holding States. The dividing line is drawn between the freeman and the slave; between the independent laborer on his own farm and the wretched serf toiling for the benefit of another. Most of the bickerings and contentions and unkind feelings; most of the sectional jealousies and divisions which have ever distracted the union, have been generated by slavery. The competition between free and slave labor has done more to agitate and embroil the nation than all other causes together. The halls of Congress have shown this. The tariff and nullification have shown this. And these dissensions will continue so long as the existing cause continues. As certainly as the fire pent up in the mountain will eventually burst forth and scath the surrounding fields, unless soothed and extinguished, so certain is it that slavery will destroy this union unless abolished by those who support it. We wish our opponents would reflect on this. Slavery and not abolitionism is threatening to dissolve the union. Slavery and not abolitionism is disorganizing. The abolitionist is holding out the olive branch amid the contentions of freemen and slaves. He is throwing oil on the agitated waters. Instead of war, he will send peace, instead of a sword, there shall be the songs and prayer of a united family, gathered around the altar of a merciful and just God. Quietude such as the United States have never seen, will follow the triumph of his principles—the principles of justice and good will.

That there are obstacles in the way of immediate emancipation we do not deny, but that they may each and all be surmounted by a strict and persevering attachment to justice we fully believe. Other objections than those mentioned above are urged against us, but we have not room here to notice them in detail. They have already been examined at length by several distinguished writers,* to whose works we refer the candid inquirer. Great as these obstacles seem to be, and specious as these objections really are, we conceive they are founded upon false notions and will yield eventually before the enlightening influences of truth. But with a full view of the realities of slavery, its open abominations and iniquities, we know of no objections sufficient to deter us from advocating its instant abolition. Whatever difficulties attend its abandonment, be assured horrors thrice told cling to its existence. *We must act.* Duty is plain, and the consequences attending its performance are not to be feared. Sacrifices and trials there will be—they are inevitable but they must be met—met with firmness, with christian meekness and fidelity. The abolitionist has encountered opposition—has been violently assailed in motives and designs—and held up before the world with ridicule, wrath, and affected, if not real contempt. Mobs have beset him in various places, and on various occasions. The church, dedicated to the Almighty, has been no sanctuary, but has been violated by his enemies. His property has been plundered and burnt; his char-

*We refer particularly to Mrs. Child's Appeal, Phelps' Lectures, and Jay's Inquiry.

acter misrepresented and abused. But all this ought not to discourage him. It was to have been expected; for the advocate of truth and justice, in all ages, has been assailed with reproach and persecution, when he has exposed the wickedness and corruption of the times, and attempted their removal.

But though the abolitionist has met with opposition, he has met, also, with encouragement. His labors have been blessed with much success. The rewards of his toils are already returning to him. His doctrines are becoming daily and hourly more the doctrines of the multitude. The signs of the times are not dubious; he who can discern the face of the heavens can read them. The incitements to continued exertion are not few. The justice of our cause is enough to inspire all of us with unfaltering zeal and energy in carrying it forward, even though we should be defeated on all sides. But when we take into consideration the unparalleled success of past labors, and the auspices of the present moment, we cannot hesitate to thank God and take courage. Four years ago, hardly a voice was heard in behalf of the oppressed negro. A complete apathy had seized the public feeling. The Colonization Society was drugging christian and infidel with its narcotic potions, and taking away unrebuked, the last hopes of the poor slave. *Now*, what is the state of opinion and action? That same deceptive society, which surely "leads to the degradation and oppression of the poor colored man, resisting every effort to free the slave, and misleading the conscience of the slave holder," is becoming the scorn of its former supporters, and rapidly giving place to others formed on the living principle of immediate emancipation—immediate turning from sin. A National Anti-Slavery Society has been formed; six State Societies; eight or ten County Societies; and about 200 Town Societies. Newspapers and the periodicals are discussing the subject with earnestness and decision. Ministers and lawyers and physicians—men of eminence in the religious and literary world—men of strong minds and warm hearts, are actively engaged in bringing about a thorough reform.

In Europe, amid the dynasties of the old world, the cause of liberty and human rights is progressing with sure steps. Negro emancipation is exciting great attention in various monarchical courts. England has performed a deed which deserves to be recorded on her proudest annals. On the FIRST DAY OF AUGUST, 1834, she transformed 800,000 human beings from chattels to *men*. On that day, the jubilee of freedom was heard for the first time in her West India Colonies. To those islands, the abolitionist points with exultation, and with sorrow. With exultation that his principles have been acted upon, and their practicability put to a successful test. With sorrow that justice has been made to bow before mistaken ideas of expediency. The proceedings in the West Indies have demonstrated fully not only that immediate emancipation is safe, but that it is the only remedy for slavery which is *safe*. In Bermuda and Antigua, where emancipation was instant and unconditional, all is quietness and content.—The employer and the free laborer have none of those contentions which disquiet the islands where slavery in a milder form under the apprenticeship system still exists. There the fields are cultiva-

ted, the crops are gathered in and taken care of, without any compulsion or loss. And whenever our opponents talk of the dangers of emancipation, we will refer them, with gratitude to God, to Bermuda and Antigua.

France is moving in the good work, and ere many years shall have passed away, we confidently look for the abolition of slavery, under all its forms, throughout her dominions. An Abolition Society has been formed at Paris, of which the Duke de Broglie, one of the ministers of the government, is president. The question is soon to be brought before the Chamber of Deputies. It remains to be seen whether the monarchies of Europe, or the republics of America shall first carry out the broad principles of natural equality and inalienable rights.

In our own country, the prospect is truly encouraging. The course of events is evidently tending to speedy and entire emancipation. At the North, the voice of the people is growing louder and more decided against the holding of property in man—against slavery in the abstract and the concrete. In the South and South-West, the movements are of a nature not to be mistaken. They are the response of movements at the North. They evince that our efforts have not been in vain, but that they tend to awaken feeling and action where the remedy is to be directly applied. It is idle to say we cannot influence the slave holder. We *do* influence him. Facts prove it. The movements in Kentucky and Missouri prove it. An Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in the heart of a slave State. An animated public discussion is going on, where a few years since all was silent as the grave. In Kentucky, the accession of JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq. to the ranks of immediate emancipation, and his untiring labors, are doing much to forward the cause in that State. To show the condition of public feeling there, we would remark that a resolution was introduced into the Senate a few months since, calling a convention for the purpose of so far amending the Constitution as to provide for the emancipation of slaves, and was lost by a vote of *nineteen to nineteen*. In Missouri, also, a similar proposition has been laid before the legislature of that State. The result is not yet known. Several of the papers there, as well as in Tennessee, speak out boldly and decidedly on the subject, and are much more severe against the system of slavery and open to discussion than the press at the North.

The introduction of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia before Congress during the last session is an omen of good to the oppressed. Although the plea for emancipation was denied, and the stigma of reproach still permitted to cling to the statute book, yet we have much reason for hearty congratulation. Our principles have found an advocate in Mr. Dickson of New York, who will not fail to urge them ably, and on every occasion. The mere discussion of the subject there will effect much. It will lead people to careful thought, to inquiry, to personal investigation. Neither will the final rejection of the petitions discourage further effort. Other petitions will be circulated among the people during the summer, and no exertions will be spared till justice is meted out by the National Legislature to all over whom it exercises power.

We speak what we do know, when we say we have much reason to persevere in the cause which we have undertaken. It is emphatically the cause of humanity and of God, and a rich reward will assuredly attend the triumph of our efforts. Every obstacle will be removed from our path if we persevere—every objection proved to be nothing but the suggestions of interest and carping selfishness. In view of these things therefore—in view of the enormities and blood-guiltiness of American Slavery; in view of the horrible sufferings of its victims and its terrible influence on the master; in view of our duties as citizens of this great Republic, as patriots, as philanthropists, and above all as CHRISTIANS, do we appeal to the people of New-Hampshire; to every man, woman and child within its borders to come up to the rescue of their brethren and sisters in bonds. We appeal to them in the name of the country which they love. We appeal to them as to those who have drank deeply from the fountains of religion and holy benevolence. With the Bible in our hands and the words of inspiration on our lips, we would plead with them to remember those in bonds as bound with them. We appeal to them as they honor the commands of God, as they would follow in the footsteps of him who went about doing good; as they feel for the affliction of their fellow men; we appeal to them as they value the ordinances of the gospel; as they love the institutions of piety, and the courts of pure and undefiled worship; as they treasure in their bosoms the christian's unfailing hope in time and eternity, that they rise up and labor for the redemption of the plundered negro. We plead with them before God, angels and men. We warn them of the vast responsibilities which are upon them. If they hear—well; but if they will forbear, then the afflicted have but one other hope,—the righteous and direct intervention of God's own right arm, which will most assuredly be made bare in their defence.

To the friends of the cause in which we are engaged, we would say, PERSEVERE. BE CONSTANT. Let not obstacles, threats or persecution diminish your zeal. Your labors have been blessed with the favor of the Most High. Be steadfast in the principles you have chosen, the principles which shall bless the negro, this country, and the world. Persevere,—NIL DESPERANDUM DUCE DEO.

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
NEW-HAMPSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

The most high God hath made of one blood all the families of man to dwell on the face of all the earth, and hath endowed all alike with the same inalienable rights, of which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; yet there are now in this land, more than two millions of human beings, possessed of the same deathless spirits, and heirs to the same immortal hopes and destinies with ourselves, who are nevertheless deprived of these their sacred rights, and kept in the most cruel and abject bondage; a bondage under which human beings are bred and fattened for the market, and then bought, sold, mortgaged, leased, bartered, fettered, tasked, scourged, beaten, killed, hunted even like the veriest brutes,—nay, made often the unwilling victims of ungodly lust; while, at the same time, their minds are, by law and custom, generally shut out from all access to letters, and in various other ways all their upward tendencies are repressed and crushed, so as to make their “moral and religious condition such that they may justly be considered the heathen of this country;” and since we regard such oppression as one of the greatest wrongs that man can commit against his fellow; and existing as it does, and tolerated as it is, under this free and Christian government, sapping its foundation, bringing its institutions into contempt among other nations, thus retarding the march of freedom and religion and strengthening the hands of despotism and irreligion throughout the world; and since we deem it a duty to ourselves, to our government, to the world, to the oppressed, and to God, to do all we can to end this oppression, and to secure an immediate and entire emancipation of the oppressed; and believe we can act most efficiently in the case, in the way of combined and organized action:—Therefore, we, the undersigned, do form ourselves into a society for the purpose, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ART. I. This Society shall be called the NEW-HAMPSHIRE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. II. The fundamental principle of this Society is, that slave-holding is a heinous sin against God, and ought therefore to be immediately and forever abandoned.

ART. III. The objects of this Society are to secure the immediate and entire emancipation of the enslaved from the oppression of slavery, of the free blacks from the oppression of public sentiment, and the elevation of both to the enjoyment of equal intellectual, civil and religious rights and privileges. And this Society will endeavor to effect these objects by the use of such Christian means as are suited to correct prevailing and wicked prejudices, and to change the public sentiment of the nation in regard to the rights of the enslaved; but will never encourage a resort to violence in vindication of their rights.

ART. IV. Any person assenting to the above principles may become a member of the Society by signing this constitution. Local Societies formed on similar principles may become auxiliary by paying any sum annually into the Treasury.

ART. V. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, five or more Vice Presidents, a Corresponding and Recording Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall consist of seven, who with the President, Vice Presidents, Secretaries and Treasurer shall constitute a Board of Managers to represent the Society during its recess. It shall be the duty of the Board of Managers to take all measures necessary to carry into effect the general objects of the Society, five constituting a quorum to transact business.

ART. VI. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Concord, at such time and place as the Managers shall appoint, during Election week.

ART. VII. This Constitution may be altered or amended at any annual meeting of the Society, such alteration or amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting.

DECLARATION

OF THE

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

Assembled in Philadelphia, December 4, 1833.

The Convention, assembled in the city of Philadelphia to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM was broadly this—‘that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness.’ At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number; poor in resources; but the honest conviction that TRUTH, JUSTICE, and RIGHT were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with

the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognized by the law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities—as goods and chattels—as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slave-holding States.

Hence we maintain—That in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—That no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandize—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, *in principle*, between the African slave trade and American slavery;

That every American citizen, who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, [according to Scripture*] a MAN-STEALER;

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law;

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity;

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of Nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—That all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forth-

*Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

with to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves;

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because SLAVERY IS A CRIME, AND THEREFORE IT IS NOT AN ARTICLE TO BE SOLD;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim;—freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners;—it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery which is tolerated within its limits. We concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject.

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence, and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the EVERLASTING ROCK.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land.

We shall send forth Agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the PULPIT and the PRESS in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in GOD. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon; and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations—whether we live to witness the triumph of *Liberty, Justice and Humanity*, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent and holy cause.

Signed in the Adelphi Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 6th day of December, A. D. 1833.

STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES,

Auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>When organized.</i>	<i>Presidents.</i>	<i>Corres. Secretaries.</i>	<i>Residence of Secretaries.</i>
Mass.	Jan. 1832.	Joseph Southwick.	Samuel E. Sewall,	Boston.
Vermont.	1 May, 1834.	John Ide.	Orson S. Murray,	Orwell.
Maine.	16 Oct. 1834.	Samuel M. Pond.	Geo. E. Adams,	Brunswick.
N. H.	11 Nov. 1834.	David Root.	John Farmer,	Concord.
Ken.	19 Mar. 1835.	Jas. M. Buchanan.	Luke Munsell,	Danville.
Ohio.	27 Apr. 1835.	Leicester King.	Albert A. Guthrie,	Putnam.

